



# United States Department of the Interior

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20245

JUN - 8 1984

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Tribal Government Services-FA

## MEMORANDUM

To: Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

From: Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (Operations)

Subject: Recommendation and summary of evidence for proposed finding against Federal acknowledgment of the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi of Alabama pursuant to 25 CFR 83.

## RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi (PCN) not be acknowledged as an Indian tribe entitled to a government-to-government relationship with the United States. We further recommend that a letter be forwarded to the petitioner advising them of the proposed finding, and that a notice of the proposed finding that they do not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law be published in the Federal Register.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi is an organization of Creek descendants formed in 1969 at Florala, Alabama. The membership does not now and has not historically formed a community distinct from surrounding populations. It is not a formalization of a previously existing community and has no historical link other than descendancy of its members with the historical Creek Nation. It has only been identified as an Indian entity since its formation in 1969 and no identifications were found of predecessor communities. Membership has varied significantly during the organization's existence, and is currently much narrower than when it was originally formed. Significant political authority or other political processes have not operated within the group since its formation and no antecedent leaders or community within which political processes might have operated were found to have existed.

The group's bylaws describe how membership is determined and how the group governs its affairs and its members. At least 81 percent of the group have documented their Creek Indian ancestry or is expected to be able to. Some of the remaining 19 percent which have not documented Creek ancestry may also be able to trace their ancestry. Less than one percent of the group's current members are enrolled with any other Indian tribe or group and no evidence was found that the group or any of its members have been terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship by an Act of Congress.

We conclude that the group meets criteria d, e, f and g, but does not meet criteria a, b or c of Section 83.7 of the Acknowledgment regulations.

**83.7(a)**        **A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.**

The Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi (PCN) has only been identified as Indian and as Creek since its organization in 1969. These identifications frequently are of an entity such as an organization of Creek descendants, and not as a community or tribe. The organization has been identified as Indian since 1969 in newspaper accounts, by the town of Florala, where its headquarters are, and by the Alabama State legislature which recognized it in 1971 as Creek and as a "tribe of people." The Oklahoma Creek Nation has taken no position on its petition for acknowledgment.

There were no predecessor communities to the PCN in existence between Creek Removal (1827 to 1836) and 1969, and hence no historical identification as a Creek or Indian entity. Creek histories, local history and local Walton County records do not list any Creek or other Indian community in the county after 1850. None of the Federal census or other records examined identified individuals ancestral to the current membership as Indian after 1850.

We find that the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi has not been historically identified as Indian and therefore does not meet the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(a) of the acknowledgment regulations.

**83.7(b)**        **Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area, and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.**

The PCN does not presently and has not historically formed a community distinct from surrounding population. It is an organization formed in 1969, conceived as a center for Creek descendants throughout the southeastern United States. The initial membership was considerably broader than the current membership, because many of the initial members left the organization to become part of other organizations. Thus the membership is not, and has not been, a distinct Indian community with significant social distinctions between members and non-members.

Approximately 75 percent of the current membership list analyzed for acknowledgment purposes consists of families descended from a single Creek ancestor, Catherine McIntosh, daughter of Creek chief William McIntosh Jr. This is the family line of the PCN leader, Arthur Turner. These families comprise a loose network, which is somewhat concentrated in Walton and Okaloosa Counties, Florida. There are no social distinctions between these and surrounding populations, no distinct customs, and no significant intermarriage within this group of families or with the other PCN members.

The PCN is not a formalization of a less formally organized community which existed previously. The only historical line with the Creek Nation before its removal west in 1836 is through the ancestry of the main family line in the PCN. No Indian community ancestral to the PCN was found in the areas where many of the members' ancestral families lived in the later 19th or early 20th centuries or elsewhere in Walton County. The historical evidence indicates that most of the current members derive from the family of Catherine McIntosh and possibly several related families which left the Creek Nation after Chief McIntosh was killed in 1825. These families initially moved to southern Alabama and migrated around 1848 to Walton County, Florida.

We conclude that the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi is a recently formed organization of Creek descendants that does not constitute a community distinct from surrounding populations and that there are no historical predecessor communities. We find, therefore, that the PCN has not met the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(b).

**83.7(c) A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.**

The PCN is a recently formed organization and not a community within which political authority is exercised or formal and informal decision-making processes carried out. The leadership has not exercised authority over the membership and has only represented the membership for very limited purposes, primarily for organizing annual celebrations and creation of an acknowledgment petition. The membership has not played a significant role in the actions of the chief and the organization's council.

No communities ancestral to the PCN were found and hence no body within which leadership or other political processes were carried out. No earlier leaders were cited by the petitioner except for the decade before the formation of the PCN. These were solely in connection with family reunions which did not include all of the PCN families and was not limited to families of Indian descent.

We find that the PCN is an organization formed in 1969 and is not a community within which political authority has been exercised and decision-making processes carried out, and that it is not historically derived from such a body. We find therefore, that the group does not meet the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(c) of the Acknowledgment regulations.

**83.7(d) A copy of the group's present governing document or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.**

The group has submitted copies of their governing documents which describe its membership criteria and the procedures by which it governs its affairs and its members. We conclude that the group has met the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(d).

- 83.7(e)** A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary, descendency from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.

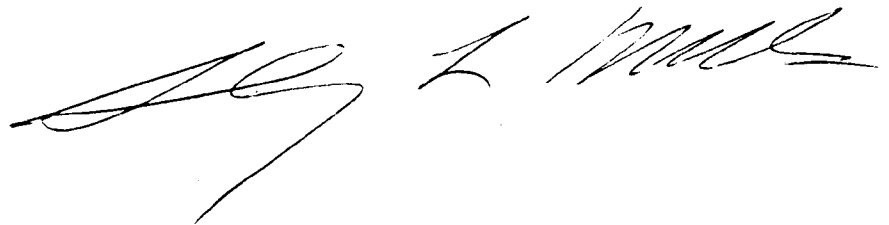
The PCN submitted a copy of their current membership roll and copies of former lists of members. Eighty-one percent of the total membership has demonstrated Creek Indian ancestry or is expected to be able to trace ancestry based on information now available. Some of the remaining 19 percent which have not yet documented their Creek ancestry may also be able to trace their ancestry. However, sufficient documentation was not provided with the petition to establish Creek ancestry. Genealogical research in Federal and local repositories verified the ancestry asserted in the petition and did not produce documentation to conflict with the petitioner's claims. Therefore, we conclude that the PCN meets Section 83.7(e) of the regulations.

- 83.7(f)** The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.

Fewer than one percent of the current members are enrolled in any other North American Indian tribe or group, therefore we conclude that the PCN meets the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(f).

- 83.7(g)** The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

The PCN has not been the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden a relationship with the Federal Government. We conclude that the PCN meets the criterion in 25 CFR 83.7(g).



**TECHNICAL REPORTS REGARDING**  
**THE PRINCIPAL CREEK INDIAN NATION**  
**EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI**  
**of**  
**Floral, Alabama**

Prepared in response to a petition for Federal Acknowledgment as an Indian tribe submitted by the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi.

**GENEALOGICAL REPORT ON THE PRINCIPAL CREEK INDIAN NATION  
EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI AT FLORALA, ALABAMA**

- 83.7(d) A copy of the group's governing document or in the absence of a written document, a statement describing in full the membership criteria and the procedures through which the group currently governs its affairs and its members.**

The Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi (PCN) submitted a copy of its present governing documents including a constitution and bylaws and articles of organization, dated October 1970. The petition does not indicate how the organizational documents were adopted.

The group's governing document entitled, "Suggested Constitution and By-Law's for the Local Tribe of the Principal Creek Indian Nation Adopted this 4th Day of October 1970" includes the provision for a nine-member governing body referred to alternately as an "Official board" and as a "council." Qualifications for participation on the group's governing body are indicated in Article 2 of Section 2, Official Board. Board members must be qualified voters, be able to furnish proof of Creek ancestry, and be a member of the group according to this document. Article 4, Section 1 describes the terms of office for members of the governing body. The "chief" is to be elected for an indefinite period and nine council members are elected on alternate years.

The group's constitution and bylaws do not address some essential governmental functions. The document does not define the qualified voters, does not identify responsibilities of the various council members, and does not define terms such as "Local Tribe or group" which are referred to in the governing document. Articles 3 and 8 of the group's constitution and bylaws include discussions on membership criteria and application procedures. Although this document does not address criteria for or purpose of honorary membership, the group's representative verbally provided this information. A detailed discussion of membership in the group is included in Section 83.7(e).

The petitioner was organized as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of the State of Alabama, Covington County, in October 1970 under the name of the "Principal Creek Indian Nation (The Wind Clan) Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi River."

The PCN has provided a copy of the group's governing documents which describe its membership criteria and the procedures by which it governs its affairs and its members. Although the governing documents do not address many essential governmental functions, we conclude that the group technically meets 83.7(d).

- 83.7(e) A list of all known current members of the group and a copy of each available former list of members based on the tribe's own defined criteria. The membership must consist of individuals who have established, using evidence acceptable to the Secretary descendance from a tribe which existed historically or from historical tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity.**

The group's constitution and bylaws, Article 3 describes membership criteria in the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi.

Sec. 1. Membership in the Tribe shall be open to all those who give proven evidence of their Creek Indian blood line to the Satisfaction of the Council and who voluntarily subscribe to and agree to be Governed by it's constitution and bylaws as set fourth.

Sec. 2. Any members who do not comply with the Rules of, or leaves this tribe without a Just cause will be Removed from the Membership Rolls of the Principal Creek Indian Nation and will not be Qulifyd to sell Craft's and Art's under the Trade Mark of the Principal Creek Indian Craft's Inc.

[Quoted verbatim]

Article 8 of the group's constitution and bylaws indicates that the governing body has responsibility for acting on applications for membership. Independent of the constitution, the PCN leadership places its members into three categories: 324 "current members" (the current roll was submitted as an addendum after receipt of the documented petition), 59 "potential members," and 119 "honorary members." The group's governing document and other written documents submitted with the petition do not describe these three categories of membership. Explanations which were provided by the group's spokespersons have been incorporated into the following discussion on membership.

#### CURRENT MEMBERSHIP

Several lists of the gorup's members were provided during the petitioning process; each subdivided into three categories based on type of membership—current, potential, or honorary. Variations in the lists resulted in confusion regarding who were or were not members of the group. In order to rectify the problem one list—divided into the three parts based on type of membership—was compiled by the staff. This compiled list was then returned to the PCN leadership for authentication. It is this list, authenticated by Mr. Turner and hereinafter referred to as the current membership roll, which is analyzed in the following paragraphs.

The Branch of Federal Acknowledgment's genealogical research in Federal and local repositories was aimed at verifying the connections between the current membership and the early Creek ancestors claimed. The early Creek ancestors claimed appear, or the names of their immediate ancestors appear, on one or more of the several early sources recognized as being Creek which were prepared prior to 1870. These include the following sources:

1. Census of the Creek Nation 1833, made pursuant to Article 2 of the Treaty concluded March 24, 1832 (Senate Doc. 512, 1835, Emigration Correspondence, 1831-33, pages 239-395).
2. Claims of Friendly Creek Indians paid under the Act of March 3, 1817 (H.R. Doc. 200, 20:1, 1828).

3. Roll of Loyal Creek Refugees, Freedmen and Soldiers, prepared from the Census of the Creek Nation, by their Agent, as required by Article 4 Treaty with Creeks of July 14th, 1866 to aid in the investigation and awards for losses as contemplated by that article.
4. An Act for the Relief of the Heirs of Semoice, a friendly Creek Indian. 10 Stat. 735 August 16, 1852 (U. S. Congress 1852)

The following chart indicates to which early Eastern Creek ancestors the current members of PCN can document their ancestry.

<u>Ancestry of PCN</u>		
<u>Creek Ancestor</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>	<u>Percentage of Current Members</u>
Catherine McIntosh	192	59%
Elizabeth English Ward	35	11
John Smith	17	5
George Stiggins	4	1
John Semoice	3	1
Not on either payment roll	<u>73</u>	<u>23</u>
	324	100%

Research by the Acknowledgment staff included a review of materials submitted by the petitioner including the group's current, but undated membership roll, individual history charts for some members, and selected vital records. Other research included Federal population census schedules, 1850 through 1910, at the National Archives and Records Service (NARS), Washington, D.C.; the index to rejected applications for Eastern Cherokee Judgment awarded in 1910 prepared by Guion Miller; individual applications filed and evidence submitted in support of claims to share in judgment awards under the Indian Claims Commission Dockets 21 and 275 at the Muscogee Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Research also included a review of published and unpublished local histories, family genealogies, and cemetery transcriptions; county records in Alabama and Florida including vital records such as marriage, birth and death records; oral histories provided by members of the group and such other miscellaneous records including land patents, quit claim deed, mark and brand certificates.

The Branch of Federal Acknowledgment's genealogical research in Federal and local repositories produced no genealogical evidence to conflict with the information on ancestry provided by the petitioner.

According to the group, current members are those individuals who have met the necessary criteria for membership, including submitting an application form and documenting Creek Indian ancestry. These individuals have been accepted by the governing body as members with the full rights, responsibilities and privileges of membership. There are 324 current members of the PCN. Research conducted by the Federal Acknowledgment staff indicates that 81 percent of the current members have documented their Creek Indian ancestry or are expected to be able to document based on information now available.



Two recent Federal sources are also used to identify current members of the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi as descendants of early eastern Creek Indians. Both are rolls prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to distribute judgment funds awarded by the Indian Claims Commission in Dockets 21 and 275. The Docket 21 award was paid to individuals who were born on or prior to and were living on the date of the Act of September 21, 1968 and who could document ancestry to the Creek Nation as it existed on August 9, 1814. The judgment roll prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for this award included 7,262 eastern Creek Indian descendants. Docket 275 award has not yet been distributed or approved. Eligible individuals for payment under the Act of October 19, 1973 include those listed on Docket 21 and their children, those who were eligible to apply for Docket 21 but did not, and their children. Eligible applicants must have been living on June 15, 1978.

Two-hundred fifty-one of the group's current 324 members (77%) can be identified as having shared in the judgment award made to eastern Creek Indians under Indian Claims Commission Dockets 21 or 275. Their names and other identifying information appear on the judgment distribution rolls prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs based on documentary evidence of their Creek Indian descent. Another four percent of the individuals who are not on either docket 21 or 275 rolls, are also expected to be able to trace their Creek Indian ancestry to Catherine McIntosh. These members are either brothers, sisters, or children of members who shared in Docket 21 or will share in Docket 275 but were not identified on either roll based on information available at this time. These individuals may not have shared in the award for a variety of reasons. Some were born too late to share in the award. Others may not have applied, or applied too late to share, or did not submit documentation necessary to verify their ancestry. Members who have not documented their Creek Indian ancestry ultimately may or may not be able to document their ancestry, however we do not have the information available to make a determination at this time. There is no evidence to suggest that they trace to any other tribal affiliation.

A geographical analysis of members addresses showed that most members reside in northern and central Florida and southern Alabama.

#### RESIDENCE OF PCN MEMBERS

<u>State</u>	<u>Number of Current Members</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Members</u>
Florida	186 *	57%
Alabama	47	15
Other States	69	21
Not Provided	<u>22</u>	<u>7</u>
	324	100%

\* The largest concentration of members is located in two west Florida counties of Walton and Okaloosa.

#### POTENTIAL MEMBERS

Potential members are those individuals the group believes may be eligible for membership if they submit the necessary application forms. They are not current members, and the governing body has not formally taken any action on their membership.

Due to the lack of information, it was not possible to determine their eligibility for membership. However, an analysis based on name identification only shows that some of the same names appear on rolls for Dockets 21 and 275 of the Indian Claims Commission.

### HONORARY MEMBERS

There are 119 honorary members in the group according to the most recent list. Although the group's governing document does not address honorary membership, group representatives have indicated that these members have been included on the rolls as a courtesy. Honorary membership has been bestowed on these individuals because of their attendance at the group's pow-wow, assistance provided with the McIntosh family reunions, or because they are spouses of current members. These individuals are not members based on claims as Creek Indians or to Creek ancestry and are not granted the rights and responsibilities as members who meet the membership criteria. Honorary members do not have voting powers.

Since the honorary members are not necessarily of Indian ancestry, the petitioner did not document the ancestry of honorary members and genealogical research conducted by the Acknowledgment staff did not include a review of this class of members.

### PREVIOUS ROLLS

The petitioner submitted several earlier undated rolls of its members, the earliest prepared in the 1970's. Many of the individuals listed on the current membership rolls also appear on earlier rolls. There is some fluctuation in the rolls. Fluctuation in the three, current, potential and honorary membership rolls, appears to be primarily the result of new members being added.

There are other contributing factors for the fluctuation in the membership rolls from the 1970's to the present. Some individuals who appear on one set of rolls as a current member may be identified as an honorary member on subsequent rolls. Group spokespersons have also indicated that some of the previous membership rolls were prepared without adequate documentation. When the group became aware of this situation, some names were removed from the rolls. The group also continues to receive applications for membership and many potentially eligible people have not yet submitted the necessary application forms to be considered members. Other individuals have requested that their names be removed from the rolls and some individuals have been added or dropped due to births and deaths. Some members of the group left the petitioning group in the early 1970's to form their own independent groups.

### CONCLUSIONS

The Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi submitted a copy of their current membership roll and copies of former lists of members. Seventy-seven percent of the group has satisfactorily documented their Creek Indian ancestry and did share or will share in judgment awards made to eastern Creek Indians under the Indian Claims Commission Dockets 21 or 275. Another four percent are expected to be able to trace their Creek Indian ancestry based on the information now available. Therefore, 81% of the total membership has traced or established Creek Indian ancestry or is expected to be able to based on information now available.

Genealogical research in Federal, and local repositories verified the Creek ancestry asserted in the petition and did not produce documentation to conflict with the petitioner's claims.

Therefore, the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi has been determined to meet Section 83.7(e) of the regulations.

**83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.**

No evidence was found to indicate that any of the members of the Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi are enrolled with any federally recognized North American Indian tribe.

Approximately four of the 324 current members are believed to be enrolled with other unrecognized Indian groups. This includes three current members who are enrolled with the Poarch Band of Creeks for whom Federal acknowledgment was proposed on January 9, 1984. This amounts to less than one percent of the group's current members who are enrolled with any other Indian tribe or group.

Therefore, the group is determined to meet the requirements of Section 83.7(f) of the acknowledgment regulations.

**83.7(g) The petitioner is not, nor are its members, the subject of congressional legislation which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.**

The petitioner does not appear on the current lists of "Indian Tribes Terminated from Federal Supervision" and of "Terminated Tribes Restored to Federal Status" prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They have not been the subject of congressional legislation which expressly terminated a previous Federal relationship.

The Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi is, therefore, determined to meet Section 83.7(g) of the acknowledgment regulations.

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE PRINCIPAL CREEK INDIAN NATION  
EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI AT FLORALA, ALABAMA**

Summary Under the Criteria

- 83.7(b) Evidence that a substantial portion of the petitioning group inhabits a specific area or lives in a community viewed as American Indian and distinct from other populations in the area, and that its members are descendants of an Indian tribe which historically inhabited a specific area.**

The Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi (PCN), with headquarters in Florala, Alabama, is a recently formed organization, begun in 1969. The PCN was initially conceived as an organization of descendants of Chief William McIntosh, but quickly evolved into an organization which sought to become the center for Creek descendants throughout the southeast. Membership within the group has been variable and not clearly defined. Initially membership was viewed more as registration of Creek descendants, not exclusive of other groups, rather than the enrollment of members of a distinct community with an existing, socially defined means of distinguishing members from non-members. The initially broad membership, drawn from a variety of families in different areas of Alabama, western Florida and southern Georgia, narrowed significantly after 1973, when several separate organizations were started by former members of the council of this organization. Approximately 75 percent of the current membership whose Creek ancestry could be documented consists of descendants of one family line, that of the leader, Arthur Turner.

The Principal Creek Nation does not presently form a community. The main membership at present comprises a loose network of families descended from a single common Creek ancestor. Although somewhat concentrated in Walton and Okaloosa counties in Florida, they are not socially distinct from surrounding populations. The organization and its leaders do not appear to conceive of it as a tribe or distinct community.

No distinct community ancestral to the PCN was found in the areas where the Turner families lived in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. The historical evidence indicates that the current families derive from one or possibly several related families which migrated to Walton County, Florida about 1848. One ancestor among these families, Catherine McIntosh Cousins, daughter of Creek chief William McIntosh, was a "half-blood" Creek. The descendant families were somewhat concentrated, particularly in the 19th century, in an isolated, rural agricultural area on the Shoal River. They were not distinct from the local population, however, marrying with them and otherwise participating socially. There was some limited awareness of Indian ancestry.

The Principal Creek Nation is not now a community which is distinct from surrounding populations and is not derived from an earlier 19th or 20th century community which evolved from the historical Creek Nation. The group therefore does not meet criterion (b) of the acknowledgment regulations.

**83.7(c)**

**A statement of facts which establishes that the petitioner has maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members as an autonomous entity throughout history until the present.**

The Principal Creek Nation is a recently formed organization, which has existed only since 1969. Its leadership has represented the membership for very limited purposes, primarily for the purpose of organizing annual celebrations and meetings. The leadership has not exercised authority over the membership and the membership has not played a significant role in the actions of the "chief" and the group's council. The council is presently self-renewing. The organization's membership does not constitute a community, but has been variable and is now reduced essentially to part of the kinsmen of the group's leader. It does not comprise a body within which political authority is exercised or formal or informal decision-making processes are carried out.

The PCN had no historical existence before its organization in 1969, i.e., is not the formalization of a less formally organized social body which existed previously. An examination of the most stable part of the membership, the Turner families, likewise does not indicate the existence of an earlier historical body within which authority or decision-making processes were carried out. No earlier leaders for the group were discovered. None were cited for other than a few years and only in reference to organizing family reunions. The reunions referred to were reunions of the McIntosh family and were not limited to families descended from the Indian part of the McIntosh family and did not include other family lines which became part of the PCN.

The Principal Creek Nation is a recently formed organization within which political authority and decision-making processes have not been exercised and is not historically derived from such a body. Therefore the group does not meet criterion (c) of the acknowledgment regulations.

**83.7(a)**

**A statement of facts establishing that the petitioner has been identified from historical times until the present on a substantially continuous basis, as "American Indian," or "aboriginal." A petitioner shall not fail to satisfy any criteria herein merely because of fluctuations of tribal activity during various years.**

The Principal Creek Nation has only been identified as Indian since its organization in 1969. One such identification came from a former chief of the Oklahoma Creeks. This chief played a major role in the creation of the organization. The Oklahoma Creek Nation does not currently recognize the group and has taken no position on its petition for recognition. The Alabama State legislature in 1971 passed a resolution recognizing the organization as Creek and as "a tribe of people." The organization is not currently one of the groups represented on the Alabama State Indian Commission. The group has had strong support from the town of Florala, where its headquarters are located.

No historical identification of the group as Indian before 1969 was found, nor was any identification as Indian found of the populations from which it was formed or of a

group in the areas in which these populations resided. No identification of individuals as Indian was found in records of individuals after 1850 other than after 1969 in reference to this organization.

The Principal Creek Nation has not been historically identified as Indian and therefore it does not meet criterion (a) of the acknowledgment regulations.

### **RESEARCH APPROACH**

The Principal Creek Nation has been examined from two perspectives, reflecting its character at different points in time. One examination has been of the organization itself since its founding in 1969, its character, membership and activities. An evaluation has also been made of the body of Turner kinsmen, centered in the Walton County area just south of Florala, Alabama, where the headquarters of the group are located. These families have been the most consistent element and the main body of the currently identifiable membership. The historical analysis before the organization's formation in 1969 has been limited to these families and their geographical area, since these were the only identifiable historical targets to examine to determine if there was an informal social group pre-dating the formal organization.

### **HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION**

The PCN has its origins in a meeting in 1969 concerning application for payment of the award to the Creeks before the Indian Claims Commission in Docket 21. This meeting, held January 18 at the Indian schoolhouse in the Poarch Indian community, was called by the Muskogee Area Office of the BIA, perhaps jointly with William "Dode" McIntosh, Chief of the Oklahoma Creek Tribe. McIntosh and representatives of the Muskogee Area Office attended the meeting (FD, PCN 1979).

No written record of the meeting was found, but according to several participants (FD) the meeting was to explain to the Creek Indian descendants east of the Mississippi how to apply for the award, which was to be paid individually to persons of Creek Indian lineage who could show descendency from members of the Creek Nation as it existed on August 9, 1814, the date of the Treaty of Fort Jackson. (U.S. Congress 1978) One reason for calling the meeting may have been to clear up confusion among eastern Creek descendants between enrollment in the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi (CNEM) claims organization based at Poarch, Alabama and application to the Federal government for payment of the award. Many thousands of Creek Indian descendants in the southeast, principally Alabama, Florida and Georgia, had enrolled with the CNEM at various times since its formation in 1950, with their dues being used to help prosecute the Creek claim in Docket 21 and other dockets. The CNEM organization was based in the Poarch Indian community near Atmore, Alabama. The impetus for the organization came from leaders of that community and they played a predominant role in it (BIA 1983).

An act appropriating funds for the award in Docket 21 was passed by Congress in 1965, but legislation providing how the funds were to be distributed was not passed until 1968 (U.S. Congress). In the interval, there was some confusion about compilation of a list of eastern Creek descendants. The CNEM, under Calvin McGhee, held that no roll could be compiled until the Federal government determined what the criteria would be, while in 1966 a short-lived group broke away from CNEM, insisting it was going to go ahead and start compiling a list of those to be paid.

At the 1969 meeting Chief McIntosh made the acquaintance of Arthur Turner, his distant cousin, who he had not previously known. McIntosh aggressively supported the right of the "eastern Creeks" to participate in the award if they could prove their descendancy (FD). McIntosh asked Turner if he could arrange a further meeting and appointed Turner as his personal representative, or "town mico" (the traditional name for the leader of a Creek town) (Floral News 1969a). McIntosh said, according to Turner, that Turner was his representative to all of the eastern Creeks as long as McIntosh was chief of the Oklahoma Creek Tribe (FD).

The meeting called by Arthur Turner led to the formation of the Principal Creek Nation, although it is not clear whether any kind of council was formed at the first meeting. The first meeting, held in August 1969, was announced in the local newspapers, and probably the Pensacola paper as well, as "A reunion of Chief William McIntosh and his Creek Indian descendants" (Floral News 1969a).

There is some uncertainty concerning the year the claims meeting at Poarch occurred. The petition and field data refer to it as being in 1968 rather than 1969, but other information indicates that the first meeting called by Turner that McIntosh attended was the August 1969 meeting. This suggests the preceding claims meeting was also in that year, since the interval between the two was reportedly not too long.

The August 1969 meeting called by Turner brought out a large crowd, evidently mostly from West Florida, with a sizeable contingent from Pensacola. Activities included a talk on the life of chief William McIntosh, discussions of the Creek claims payment, picnic dinner, election of an Indian princess and Indian dances by a dance team from the Poarch Indian community (Pensacola Journal 1970b). Those attending included Chief Calvin McGhee, leader of the Poarch Indian community and of the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, and also several individuals from Pensacola who were active leaders of later Creek organizations. These were Perlocco Linton (a member of the CNEM council), Vivian Williamson, Mrs. George Rogers and Kate Fletcher (Floral News 1969b). A second reunion was held in May 1970, with Dode McIntosh again present and a similar program of activities (Floral News 1970a).

The intent was that the PCN be for all eastern Creeks. The organization may initially have had a less global intent, however, focusing around the descendants of Chief William McIntosh. Thus, Arthur Turner, in the petition, states that McIntosh asked him to "get our family together." In 1970, when a constitution and bylaws was drafted by Turner, the initial draft was entitled "Constitution and Bylaws of Chief William McIntosh's Creeks 'The Wind Tribe' of the Cowetas." The purpose stated was of "establishing and maintaining a place for the annual assembling of the desents [sic] of Chief William McIntosh and all other Creek Indians that meet the requirements of the constitution and bylaws." Membership however, only required evidence of Creek Indian blood line (PCN 1970a).

Although the initial idea was possibly an organization centering on the McIntosh Creek descendants in the Floral and Walton County, Florida area, the organization quickly became more broadly oriented. The constitution as adopted was for the "Principal Creek Indian Nation," indicating a change in scope (PCN 1979b). The PCN was the first significant formal organization of eastern Creek descendants outside the CNEM. Others, which may or may not correspond to historical eastern Creek communities, have since been formed. The impetus of the PCN, from the point of view of informant accounts of some years later, was in part dissatisfaction with the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi organization and with the course of enrollment for the award.

The meeting in 1969 evidently built upon the existing custom of reunions of McIntosh family descendants that had been held in the area for approximately 10 years before, (FD, *Floral News* 1969a). These reunions were of descendants of the family of William McIntosh of Georgia, father of the famous Creek chief, William McIntosh Jr. This very large group includes many branches which have no Indian ancestry (Bonner 1957). It does not appear that the Turner families were among the more active participants in those reunions before 1969 (FD). One active participant in earlier reunions, who was an early member of the PCN council but is no longer in the organization, was Don McIntosh, of DeFuniak Springs in Walton County (FD, *Floral News* 1971a).

It is not entirely clear how much of a formal organization was established at the first pow-wow, or whether a council was formally elected then. After the second pow-wow in May 1970, a move was made to create a formal organization. At this point a shift was clear to an organization which was oriented toward all of the Creek descendants in the region rather than solely the McIntosh descendants in the local area. Dode McIntosh stepped down as chief of the Oklahoma Creeks in October 1970, when that tribe began to have elected chiefs rather than ones appointed by the President. The group at *Floral* asked him to be their chief but he declined and recommended that they create a charter and "form an organization" (PCN 1979).

In September the council, possibly newly formed, appointed Arthur Turner as "principal chief." A "charter" was adopted the following week, referring to articles of incorporation as a nonprofit corporation called the "Principal Creek Indian Nation (The Wind Clan) Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi." Calvin McGhee had died a few months earlier, which may have played some role in the willingness of this organization to seek a wider audience. The incorporators were Arthur Turner, Charles Snowden of Andalusia, Alabama, and Otis Turner, brother of Arthur. The articles were recorded in the Covington County, Alabama courthouse October 21, 1970 (PCN 1970c).

A constitution for the "Principal Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi River" was adopted on October 4, according to that document. The purposes of the corporation included "establish and maintain an Indian tribe, arts and crafts, Indian foods, preservation of Indian culture, etc." (PCN 1979b). The newspaper announcement stated that plans were to establish a store and that crafts projects were underway (*Floral News* 1970b).

The constitution provides an indefinite term for the chief. It does not describe the process of election of council members, but the practice for some years has been for candidates to be voted on by the council. The petition states that candidates are "examined for qualifications by the Trustees and then voted in by the council." "Trustees" refers to trustees of the nonprofit corporation, who have generally also been on the council. Early councils, however, may have been elected at the pow-wow.

Most of the business of the council has been directed at organizing the annual pow-wow, preparation of the acknowledgment petition, and efforts toward obtaining state land and the like.

The initial council consisted of Otis Turner, Lenora Glass, Alice Scott, Don McIntosh, Malray Williams, and Janice Posey from *Floral* or nearby towns in Alabama or Walton County, Florida. Also on the council was a large contingent from Pensacola, Roger Forehand, George and Lillis Snowden Rogers, Wesley Thomley, Vivian Williamson and Elizabeth Letanowsky (*Floral News* 1970a). In addition, V. R. Stewart of Pensacola



was subchief and his brother H. M. Stewart, also of Pensacola, was chaplain (Floral News 1970b). Also active in the group was Jesse C. Turner, a cousin of Arthur Turner. Jesse Turner had served on the council of the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi since 1959, but resigned in October 1970.

An even larger pow-wow was held in May 1971, as the organization that year grew larger and began to pick up significant local non-Indian support (Pensacola Journal 1971a, 1971b). Dode McIntosh attended again, and reported on the status of the Creek Indian awards (although applications for Docket 21 had closed at the end of 1969, a second claim, in Docket 275, was still in process).

Accounts of the pow-wow indicate that 400 to 500 people attended, again with many from Pensacola. There were reporters from many newspapers. Only a scattering of Indians from tribes in the southeast or elsewhere attended. Among the Pensacolans were two professors from the University of West Florida who lectured on traditional Creek culture. Local support for the pow-wow had grown in Floral, which saw it in part as an attraction to enhance tourism at nearby Lake Jackson. Turner, a lifetime resident of the area and well-known locally, encouraged this. (FD) Two local businessmen were made honorary council members because of their support of the pow-wow. One of the businessmen donated some land in the town for a councilhouse, although work was never completed on that project (Floral News 1971c, Pensacola Journal 1971c).

Later that summer, Turner sought state-level support from Alabama. With the assistance of two local representatives from the Floral area, and the concurrence and advice of the attorney general, a resolution to "Recognize the Muskogee (Creek) Indian Nation and Chief thereof" was passed by both houses of the Alabama legislature. The resolution stated that the group was recognized as a "tribe of people" and that the principal chief and current council were recognized as leaders of the group (State of Alabama 1971). An attempt to obtain a somewhat similar resolution from the Florida state legislature was unsuccessful.

One of the local businessmen, Seymour Gitenstein, wrote to then Governor George Wallace of Alabama, evidently seeking some more substantial assistance and recognition from the state (Wallace 1971). Wallace was very positive, but did not promise anything specific. He suggested Gitenstein write to Senator Allen of Alabama, concerning Federal assistance. Gitenstein's 1971 letter refers to "a program whereby we would like to make Floral the center of the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi" and referred to the "40,000 descendants of this nation" (in the southeast). Allen referred the letter to the BIA which replied to him that they understood that the eastern Creeks did not constitute a tribe but were a widely scattered people of Creek ancestry and could only get Federal recognition through Congressional action (Crow 1971).

A few months later, by letter of February 2, Arthur Turner (1972) requested Federal recognition of the PCN. On the letterhead of the "Muskogee Indian Agency" he wrote to Alabama Congressman Bob Sikes, requesting that Congress pass a resolution or laws to recognize the "Muskogee (Creek) Indian Nation, East of the Mississippi River as an independent Indian nation and to recognize the Chief and council as official representative of the Muskogee (Creek) Indian nation east of the Mississippi River." Sikes referred the letter to the BIA, whose response was similar to their previous response to Senator Allen (Crow 1972).

The organization continued to be an active one in 1972, making announcements concerning the progress of the Creek claim and holding a large pow-wow in May (Pensacola News 1972a and 1972b). Local support continued to be strong, with a local state legislator and

a Florala councilman speaking at the pow-wow. Dode McIntosh did not attend and does not appear to have been an active factor in the organization past 1971, although still supportive of the rights of the "eastern Creeks."

During 1972, however, the organization began to divide, a process Turner (1978) has described as a lot of people going off and forming their own organizations. The process is not clear, but the primary elements that split off were individuals, mostly on the council, who were from Pensacola and who had been forming dance groups or other organizations there. Among those splitting off were Wesley Thomley, council "medicine man," and Neil McCormick of Cairo, Georgia, who was not on the original council but whose name appears as vice-chief on the 1972 letterhead of the group. According to Turner (FD), the two broke away in December 1972 when Turner, being ill, announced his resignation effective in March 1973. McCormick and Thomley had, however, begun to form some kind of organization earlier in 1972. The organization had McCormick as chief, and Thomley as vice-chief and also "chief of the Florida Creeks." The organization was a joint one, combining two corporations, both called Lower Muscogee Creek Tribe-East of the Mississippi, Inc." These were set up by Thomley in Florida and McCormick in Georgia on January 26 and February 23, 1973 respectively. The new organization held its own pow-wow in 1973 and petitioned for Federal recognition as a tribe. The petition of this organization has been denied (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1981, 1982).

The PCN organization continued fairly strongly for some time after the breakaway of Thomley, McCormick and other Pensacola members. In 1976, there were two new chieftains, also from Pensacola, Thomas Crook and Joe Voss (Pensacola News 1976). These subsequently left to attempt their own organization. The current council has not changed significantly from that in 1979, when the documented petition was submitted. Pow-wows continued until about 1980.

Turner was appointed to the Alabama State Forts and Historical Trail Commission in 1975 and served for several years in its activities designating historic areas. He received an award of merit in 1976 from the parent Alabama Historical Commission. The City of Florala since 1973 has provided space for an office for the PCN in a community activities building in Florala. The city in 1977 supported the group's efforts to obtain a portion of state lands on Lake Jackson for use as a pow-wow ground and as the site of a restored Indian village. This effort was later abandoned by the group.

The organization declined gradually in vigor after the breakaway of a major part of the council in 1973 and the subsequent competition for membership and support. The council meetings are no longer held regularly and probably have not been for several years. The annual pow-wow was abandoned a few years ago because of lack of attendance and because the group could not mount the organization of it in terms of manpower and expenses (FD). A revival has been occasionally considered. The membership has similarly declined both in size and in breadth. There no longer appear to be significant activities carried out by the organization.

#### ANALYSIS

The character of the PCN organization, and its leaders' concept of its membership, are not that of a distinct social body whose members have been enrolled in a formal organization. The 1969 "call" for the first reunion with Dode McIntosh invited "all descendants" (Florala News 1969a). More importantly, according to the leaders' descriptions, the purpose of the organization was to pull together Creek Indian

descendants scattered throughout the area (FD). The statements in the petition in general also reflect this self-concept of the group as a group of Creek descendants, organized for claims and revival of Creek traditions, etc.

The organization did not have a formal enrollment process and membership list, at least during its first years, even though the constitution indicates that some proof of Creek ancestry was required. A kind of "guest register" was kept of people who came to pow-wows, particularly those who gave donations, and consequently individuals were often on the lists of members of other groups at the same time. It was difficult for leaders to determine who the "real" membership was and who had merely attended on one or another occasion (FD).

The group in 1972 said it had 600 Creek descendants as members (Turner 1972). In 1974, the group reported it had 381 members "registered with the Department of Interior of Oklahoma." The initial petition list, from 1979, for those for whom addresses were given, showed most members in Covington (where Florala is located), Geneva and Escambia Counties of Alabama, which are contiguous, and in Walton, Okaloosa and Escambia Counties of Florida, which adjoin the Alabama counties. Santa Rosa County, Florida, between Okaloosa and Escambia County, had none. The current list analyzed for acknowledgment purposes showed a similar but not identical distribution, with very few in Escambia County, Alabama and a reduced number in Pensacola (Escambia County, Florida).

A variety of lists of members were provided with the petition and addenda. One set is divided into a list of current members and a list of former members. Another set is divided into members, former members ("some who left to become members of other groups" and "some that was non-Indian who could not meet the group's requirements"), and a list of honorary members (such as Creek McIntosh descendants, evidently not active in the group).

The character of the membership changed as the group declined. Initially it drew strongly from Pensacola and nearby areas, but many of these withdrew when other groups were organized. Some members of the group as originally formed could not "prove up" their Creek ancestry and dropped out (see above), (FD). By 1978 the group was mostly comprised of families from the rather large number of descendants of Catherine McIntosh (Arthur Turner's family line), plus a few others. In the letter transmitting the documentation of its petition in 1979 (Turner), the PCN states that "this group of Creek Indians are mostly composed of by [sic] the descendants of Chief William McIntosh, Jr. . . ." Of those on the list analyzed for purposes of acknowledgment whose Creek ancestry could be documented, about 75 percent were from the Catherine McIntosh family line and thus more or less closely related to Arthur Turner. Most of the remainder were from some families in southeastern Alabama who are part of the Ward family line. More recently, according to the leadership, many of the latter have withdrawn from the group.

The current membership is thus essentially limited to families of descendants of Catherine McIntosh and therefore fairly closely related to the chief, Arthur Turner. There is no tight geographical concentration in the sense of a neighborhood or hamlet. A large number still live in Walton County, neighboring Okaloosa County, Florala, and neighboring areas of Alabama, within about a 75 mile radius of Florala. They have spread since the early 20th century from the Shoal River area of Walton County where the ancestors of their family first settled in the 1840's (see below). The families in this West Florida-Alabama area, and some resident elsewhere in Florida, appear to maintain a fair amount of contact with each other through visiting, family reunions, and the like. They thus

form a large group of related families, with considerable contact within at least part of the group. They are not, however, socially distinct from surrounding white populations and have no kin links from intermarriages between the families. No distinct social customs were found. Marriages in the past were generally with neighboring families, reflecting the isolated rural nature of the area until the past several decades. Some marriages were with other families which may have also claimed Indian ancestry at one time or another.

The individuals in these families, as far as could be determined, do not view themselves as a distinct group and do not claim to be part of an on-going, distinct community. At the strongest they describe themselves as "a family tribe" which is "scattered out" (FD). The degree of interest in and orientation toward an identification as Creek Indian or even as a Creek Indian descendant is, according to council members, quite varied but is in general not very strong (FD). According to leaders, they did not know very much about their Indian background before efforts were made, beginning in 1950, to seek a part of the Creek claim before the Indian Claims Commission for the eastern Creeks and concurrently to trace the Indian ancestry of many families in the southeast. Many of the Turners and related families were accepted for payment in Docket 21, and some previously had been active in the claims movement and in tracing family history.

## **BACKGROUND HISTORY**

### Creek Nation Before Removal

The Creek Nation was a confederacy of towns, some fifty or more, which evolved during the course of the 17th and 18th centuries into a large nation with a strong national council. Most but not all of its population was Muskogean, but significant other elements such as Natchez were added to the confederacy in historic times. Its primary territory in the 18th century was in Georgia and Alabama. The Creek towns were generally divided into Upper and Lower Creeks. The Upper Creeks were more to the northwest, upstream from the British colonies, and were, in general, more traditional than the Lower Creeks, who had more extensive trading relationships with the British colonies and the Spanish.

Expanding American settlement led to increasing pressures on the Creeks to cede land and eventually to remove westward. A series of cessions occurred, major ones in 1814 following the "Creek War" against the "Red Stick" followers of the prophet Tecumseh, 1827, which ceded the Creeks' Georgia lands, and 1832, which led to the removal of most of the Nation in 1836 and the following several years. A number of half-blood Creeks remained behind, some of them permanently. Some Creeks had filtered south into Florida during the 18th and early 19th century, eventually evolving into the Seminoles. In the aftermath of the "Creek War" other Creeks migrated into West Florida (Green 1979, Swanton 1946).

### Walton County and Turner Family History

An examination was made of Walton County history, particularly the Shoal River area where the Turner family originated, and also of the family history of the Turner family to determine if there was any identification of individuals or of a community as Indian and the nature of the community within which the families lived. This examination showed no identification of individuals as Indian or of groups of Indians in Walton County

after about 1850, either among the Turner relatives or elsewhere. The Turners and related families were part of a small, isolated rural agricultural area, but there was no indication of social or residential separation from the neighboring families.

All of the Turner family line currently enrolled in the group are descendants of Sarah Ann Cousins and her husband Zaph N. G. Turner, who migrated to Walton County approximately 1848. Migrating with the couple were William Cousins (also spelled Cozzens), and his wife Catherine McIntosh Cousins, parents of Sarah. According to group members, they were accompanied by John Covington and his wife, Mary Cousins Covington, Sarah's sister, and John Kennington, whose reported relationship to the other was not verified. The latter two families could not be found on the 1850 Federal census of the area, which does show William Cousins and Zaph Turner apparently living next to each other. Cousins and Turner appear on the poll book voting list for the precinct "east bank of the Yellow River" in 1848 but not for the years 1843 to 1847, indicating they were probably recent migrants. According to oral history, the area families settled in was a few miles east of the present Laurel Hill, in what is now the northeast corner of Okaloosa County but which was then within Walton County.

The area shows on the censuses and tax records as having primarily small-scale agriculture and stock-raising, with a few medium-sized farms with slave populations. Population was sparse. No free colored were noted on the 1850 census. Catherine McIntosh Cousins died in 1849 and her husband evidently remarried almost immediately. Cousins eventually migrated back to southern Alabama.

Catherine McIntosh was the daughter of the famous Lower Creek Chief of Coweta Town, William McIntosh, Jr. She is one of the more obscure children of this famous man. McIntosh, a half-blood Creek and a very controversial figure in his time, was slain by a party of Upper Creeks in 1825 for signing the Treaty of Indian Springs (Bonner 1957). Green (1979) describes this as a fraudulent treaty which would have ceded all of Creek lands in Georgia and half of the Creeks' Alabama lands. Creek national law called for the death penalty for unauthorized selling of tribal land. Most of the extensive McIntosh family and McIntosh's followers migrated to Indian Territory in 1827-28, preceding the forced removal of the Creeks a few years later. McIntosh's son Chilly, Catherine's brother, subsequently became chief of the Creeks in Indian Territory.

The main record of Catherine appears in documents concerning the slaying of McIntosh. These indicate she was present when McIntosh was slain (United States Congress 1832). Family contact with her was lost in subsequent years, with family accounts in Oklahoma recording only that she "married a Mr. Cousins" (Corbin 1967). Thus the Turner family was unknown to William "Dode" McIntosh when he came to Alabama in 1969 to work on the Creek claims.

Records indicate that Catherine was probably married to Cousins about 1825, i.e., just before or just after the slaying. Cousins, by some oral accounts, was the grandson of Eufaula Creek Chief George Cousins, but no confirmation of this was offered or developed. The family migrated to Florida from Barbour County, Alabama, just north of Florida, where Sarah Cousins and Zaph Turner were married in 1841. The family's location in 1841 at Eufaula in Barbour County was just south of the Creek Nation's territory, in an area ceded in the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson. The families may have migrated down river from the location of William McIntosh's holdings in Carroll County, Georgia after his death. By oral tradition, James Turner, father of Zaph, was a plantation owner in Georgia and Sarah was working for the Turner family before she and Turner married.

According to the petition, the families moved first to Lake Jackson, now Florala, doing agricultural work and trying to avoid problems because they were Indian. Another account, however, indicates that they were generally accepted by whites and were considered citizens (FD). Since the territory they migrated to had been experiencing Indian raids for a number of years and was still subject to them for perhaps a few years after, the families may have had sufficient reason to avoid identification as Indian, even as half-bloods. McKinnon (1911) notes the existence of remnants of the fugitive Creeks who remained in the county after Removal, until the 1840's. The last local Indians, the Euchees, had moved from the county around 1832. In 1844, the legislature appointed a committee to investigate Indian depredations in the county. The center of these groups was, however, at the other end of the county, along the bay. An 1853 Act of the Florida legislature provided for the removal of all Indians from Florida with an exception for "Indians and half-breeds residing among the whites." An examination of the record leading to this act indicates it was not concerned, by that date, with Walton County (Florida 1853a, 1853b). No explanation was found for the inclusion of the exception in the law.

Around the Civil War period, the Turner families moved from the Laurel Hill area to the Shoal River, in a section known as Mossy Hill, also in Walton County. This, like their previous location, was outside of the main area of settlement, which was further south, in the Euchee valley. The primary economic activities were farming and logging. No specific detail concerning this period was available, other than the oral accounts of economic activities and of a "Turner" church and school. The isolation of the area was reduced around 1880 by the building of a railroad a few miles south, running east and west through the Florida panhandle. Much of the land-holding may have been informal initially, since land records show a number of homesteads obtained by Turner relatives in the 1890's and early 1900's.

Oral history of the group describes a "Turner Church" of long-standing, which served the local area. No further information was obtained concerning the church. The local school at one time was held in the church building but oral history reports that it was called the Turner school appear to be inaccurate. County school records show a Shoal River and later a Hulion School on the site. School records were available for 1890 to 1919 and make no indication that it was other than a white school (Walton County 1890-1902, 1900-1919). One of the Turners, Charles F., taught at the school for a few years and later was Walton County Tax assessor.

In 1903 Lee Turner, Arthur Turner's father, acquired additional land north of the Shoal River, near the earlier settlement, and built a grist mill there (PCN 1979). The growth of logging in the region around this time led to further changes, with new mills attracting rural citizens to Florala, about 20 miles to the north, and Crestview, Florida, about 20 miles east. Lee Turner moved to Florala in 1910, where Arthur Turner was born the following year. Gradually other members of the family moved away from the Shoal River settlement, spreading out in the county. New areas of farmland became available beginning in the 1920's, as a result of the logging, causing further population movement. There are still a few small landholdings owned by the Turners in the Shoal River area.

The marriages of members of the Turner family lines and the apparently related Covington and Kennington families were, in the latter 19th century, primarily localized in the Shoal River and nearby areas. One older member stated they married the people in the neighborhood and (as a consequence) "at one time I was kin to most of Walton County." One local institution that the families participated in was the Crowder cemetery, founded in 1852, which is on Shoal River near the location where the Turners settled. Many of the local families are buried in this cemetery and one of the Turners

in the past has been a trustee of the cemetery. The cemetery association has an annual "homecoming" in the fashion of a church, to which come many Turner kinsmen as well as kin of others buried in the cemetery. Catherine McIntosh Cousins is buried in the cemetery, her grave having been moved there many years after her death. Her husband, William Cousins, was also buried there.

It appears from oral history accounts that there was some knowledge of Indian ancestry, probably varying in degree, and some individual identification as being of Indian descent. Some individuals stated that all they knew was what their parents told them, that they had some Indians in their ancestry. Turner himself only learned of it through diligent questioning of his father, who by Turner's account, reluctantly discussed the past. Some group members, and local non-Indians from the same area, said that it was common knowledge that certain families "were Indian," e.g., "we just knew these people were of Indian descent." Although some indicated their parents were reluctant to talk about it, their statements indicated that they didn't face any social distinctions because of it. There is considerable variation in accounts of this, but none indicated any degree of social distinction or a separate community.

No documentary sources were provided in the petition indicating the existence of an Indian community in the area after the 1840's or the identification of individuals in the county as Indian. The petitioner does not in fact specifically claim that such existed, only that there were "Indian families" in the area. Among the records checked were a sampling of Federal census, school, voting and tax records for the county for the period between 1850 and 1919. None of the records examined indicated that the individuals listed in them were identified as Indian. None of the local families were among those who applied in 1906 as Creeks for the Eastern Cherokee claim. Many families in southern Alabama and West Florida erroneously applied as Creeks to Special Commissioner Guion Miller (1909a) for this claim.

The available local history material for the county is limited. Among the items checked were McKinnon's (1911) county history, a 1937 WPA history (Nettles 1937), Agresti's study of county population (1976), Stuart's (1956) study of the settlement of the county by Scottish settlers, McDonald (1968) and older Florida histories which dealt with the county, such as Norton (1891), Bell (1961), Cash (1938) and Rorick (1902). Adams' 1958 survey of county populations, which deals with ethnic identifications of the local populations, makes no mention of individuals identifying as Indians, although he notes a group of "Dominickers," which he describes as mixed black and white with possibly some Indian as well. Standard sources on remnant Indian groups in the east do not list a group in Walton County. These include Price (1950), Berry (1963), Beale (1957) and Gilbert (1948).

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1970b Suggested Constitution and By-law's for the Local Tribe of the Principal Creek Indian Nation [sic]. Date of Adoption October 4, 1970. Pet.

1970c Articles of Incorporation of the Principal Creek Indian Nation (The Wind Clan) Creek Indian Nation East of the Mississippi River. Filed October 21, 1970, Covington County, Alabama, Courthouse. Pet.

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Field Data (FD)

Research was conducted in West Florida and southern Alabama between September 18 and 27, 1983 and between February 21 and 27, 1984 for the purpose of verifying and adding to the information submitted in the petition.

Abbreviations

BFA Branch of Federal Acknowledgment

NARS National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D.C.

Pet. Principal Creek nation Petition of 1979 and addenda

RG Record Group (all archives and records center references are to Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, unless otherwise cited.)